1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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805 *Months of the Year in Talane:*

OCTOBER. *Bugram Namboo.*
NOVEMBER. *Kabunubu Namboo* (harvest moon).
DECEMBER. *Koor-oro Namboo* (cold moon).
JANUARY. *Nyoo Namboo* (burning moon).
FEBRUARY. *Gologo Namboo.*
MARCH. *Sibig Namboo.*
APRIL. *Siga Namboo.*
MAY. *Namboo woo* (empty moon).
JUNE. *Nar-cheog Namboo* (cutting millet moon).
JULY. *Nar-birt Namboo* (bad corn moon).
AUGUST. *Daa-koom Namboo.*
SEPTEMBER. *Daa Namboo.*

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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The climate of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast has two well-marked seasons, a rainy season (*seug*) and a dry season (*sum*). The rainy season is the period of intense agricultural activity and lasts from April to October; the dry season, when agriculture sinks into the background of social interest, from November to March. We shall set out the cycle of agricultural and food economy month by month, beginning with April, the first month of the rains.[1]

PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
APRIL: First planting-rain fell on March 26, and early millet (*naara*) with some cow-peas and *neri* was planted in the valley settlements. Rain again in mid-April enabled most people to plant early millet, &c. Women sowed their vegetable patches; *nangena*, *hibiscus* (*ma'ana*, *bet* and *beris*), marrow (*wok*—planted by only a few women) and other vegetables. Hoeing begun; but not more than one day in three devoted to agriculture. Communal fishing expeditions.	Food stores very low in average households and being rationed. Many dependent upon supplementary sources of supply. People buying grain abroad for re-sale. Ample food supplies in market and many buying grain. Market-prices average. Children gleaning ground-nuts.[2] Wild fruits—shea (*taamr*), *ximenia americana* (*liey*) and especially dawa-dawa powder (*dɔbugm*)—being consumed to stave off hunger.[3]

[1] The Tallensi have a lunar calendar, but we are following the European calendar to simplify the exposition. All dates given refer to 1934.

[2] Ground-nut gleaning (*nyeeh*) is a regular pursuit of children, adolescents, and even adults of households with small supplies of ground-nuts. After the ground-nuts have been lifted any one may come and scratch with a hoe for those left in the ground. Thus little groups of boys and girls, from infancy to adolescence, wander about in the fields near their homes scratching with old hoes for the ground-nuts, which they collect and eat. Early in the dry season these ground-nuts are regarded as snacks. When the dry season reaches its end, however, they become scarcer but are searched for more eagerly as a measure to stop the pangs of hunger between one meal and the next, often twenty-four hours later.

[3] Shea fruits are collected by the women throughout this season, mainly from trees on bush farms belonging to their compound. Dawa-dawa powder is more difficult to come by as the trees are jealously watched by the owners, who are in some areas the chiefs *ex-officio* and in others heads of lineages. Dawa-dawa pods are thus often obtained by gift, purchase, or exchange from the owners, or in the market. Every part of the fruit is of great value—the floury powder is eaten, the seeds collected and turned into *kpolug*, the husks of the pod used to prepare *am*, the liquid with which the walls and floors of compounds are waterproofed.

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

each within the context of the particular type of social situation is specific to it and can be determined only from the analysis of the situation itself. It may differ considerably from its "institutional function" in relation to the culture as a whole. Thus the rules of exogamy viewed in relation to the entire social organization of a people may demonstrably serve to emphasize and preserve the integrity of an unilateral kinship group. But in a particular situation, a man barred from marriage with a woman he desires may enter into an illicit sexual intrigue with her, which may lead to dissension within the kinship group. In such a case the "proximate function" of the rules of exogamy appears to be the very contrary of their "institutional function." This is an hypothetical instance; but it will suffice to illustrate what we mean when we say that the components of any type of social situation are inter-related in a manner specific to it or that it exhibits a definite structure. The aim of the present paper is to analyze the structure of a situation which recurs with some frequency in the life of a tribe recently visited by the writer.

Among the Tallensi, a tribe of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the communal fishing expeditions which take place every year are events of this kind. They extend over a period of about a month, between the close of the dry season and the commencement of the heavy rains. During this month which coincides with most of the native lunar month *Sigkpēŋ* ("Dry rains"), and the European month of April, rain falls sporadically (five times, at varying intervals, in 1934, a dry year) but sufficiently for the sowing of early millet and some of the minor crops. Sowing demands the concentration of all energies of the family for a day or two after a fall of rain; then it is discontinued until the next fall of rain. Besides sowing, other technological and economic activities compete with fishing during this month. House repairs and rebuilding are still in progress and of course the markets, which take place on two days out of three within the tribal area, are in full swing. All these activities are equally shared by men and women, assisted by the children of both sexes.

Fishing therefore is not an activity of an economic off-season. Its calendrical incidence depends primarily on the technique employed, which is suitable only for shallow pools; and the pools are shallowest at the end of the dry season. It is, also, only indirectly correlated with the diminution in food supplies which becomes general during the "dry rains", since fish, like meat, is valued as a delicacy and never as a substitute for the staple cereal foods. In any case, the catch is usually too small to influence the economy of food supplies materially. Nevertheless, the luxury value of fish furnishes one of the main inducements to join the fishing expeditions.

But the greatest attraction of these fishing expeditions to young and old, men and women, is the excitement and thrill they provide, the immediate pleasure of participation in a communal enterprise with the possibility, however remote, of some gain.

The pools fished lie in the bed of the White Volta River. When the rains cease the water level gradually sinks till eventually only a series of pools divided from one another

8:Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1936 FE11 Tallensi FE11

the prosperity of the land. Though it is housed in his compound, neither the Chief nor any of his clansmen may set eyes on it; only the Gbizug Tendaana and his lineage may. The Chief speaks of it with an awe which is almost terror. The balance is adjusted by the Chief's rainmaking powers. Only Namoos may own rain medicine, which was brought to Taleland by their ancestor. When drought is prolonged, all the Tendaanas, led by the Gbizug Tendaana, formally call upon and implore the Chief to see to it that rain falls. So great is his rainmaking power that rain will fall at once if he merely declares, in the name of his ancestors, that their wishes will be satisfied. Such, in fact, proved to be the case in 1934.

Again, this ritual polarity is parallel in social and personal attitudes. The Chief and the Gbizug Tendaana, in private conversation, comment with a mixture of pride, scorn, and fear each upon his opposite number.

Among the most striking mechanisms of this equilibrium are the ritual festivals. The various settlements are always classified in terms of them, and the natives never tire of dilating enthusiastically upon them.

Ritual and dance are the two components of every festival; the former usually esoteric, the latter public though exclusive. During the rainy season, which lasts roughly from April to September, ritual and group activities are almost completely ousted by agriculture. In July-August the early millet is harvested, but the major crops, the guinea corn and late millet, still stand.[2] The Tallensi have a lunar calendar, and the last month of the rains is called the "Moon of Waters" (Kuom ŋmarig). An ethnologist cannot, alas, be in two places at the same time. I was living among the Namoos in September, 1934, and shall therefore describe the events of this and the next month from their point of view.

Weeks in advance the approaching festivals are the dominant theme of conversation for man, woman, and child. The ceremonial cycle is inaugurated by the Baari Tendaana, who ritually "throws away the water," i.e. abolishes the rains on the first day of the new month. This is announced by a burst of hallooing, which commences at Baari and sweeps across the country, the signal that the festivals have come round again.

That night the people of Baari begin their celebrations. At Tongo, on the next day, the youths and maidens are putting finishing touches to their festive costumes. On the fourth day of the moon a deputation of elders waits on the Chief, to remind him of his traditional obligation to summon a diviner on the following day.

[2] The calendrical incidence of the ritual festivals and their relation to the annual productive cycle are more fully set out in M. and S. L. Fortes, Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi (Africa, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1936).

9: Cardinall-G-5 (ca. 1920)1924 FE11 Tallensi FE11

The Division of the Year among the Talansi of the Gold Coast. 47

By A. W. Cardinall.

Among the Talansi, a hill tribe of mixed origin living in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, close to the 11th parallel North, the following divisions in the year are recognised. They do not actually correspond to months or moons, but are periods of time or seasons recognisable by all. They depend on the fall of the rain, which is far from being regular:—

	Approximate Period.	Explanation.
1. Kodo	- December to end January	- The cold season—no particular meaning to the word, which is a proper name.

* Beri. The Kanuri-speaking inhabitants of Bornu are called Bariberi by Hausa and other peoples, indicating a former and very ancient connection with the Berber.

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	Approximate Period.	Explanation.
2. Gunfuku	February	Gun[a], gunga—kapok tree. fuku—blowing of the wind. The period when the kapok pods ripen. This is evidence of the Dagomba extraction of this people, since kapok is, undoubtedly, a southern production. Their own tradition says they came from the south as a result of interfamily wars.
3. Gologu [527]	March	This is the name of a festival which takes place shortly after full moon. In 1921 the ceremonial dancing and symbolic planting of corn, which I witnessed by good luck, took place on March 1st. In 1922 about March 13th.
4. Sionbeo	End of March or early April	Time of early planting. Sion—making holes in which to drop the grains. beo—poor. At this time it is not certain if the dry season will not return for a period and so dry up the first shoots.
5. Sionsongo	April and May	The time of good planting. songo—good. This is the proper planting time.
6. Sionyio	Late May and early June	The time of late planting. yio—conveys an idea of doubt. Planting at this time may or may not have a result.
7. Narechag	Late June and early July	Early millet harvest. Nare—early millet. chag'—cut.
8. Nabiri	Late July, mid August	Na'—early millet. biri—small. The time for eating the small ears of early millet, which are not put in the granary owing to their smallness.
9. Komwanrega	August-September	Kom—water. wanreg'—month or moon. The period of heavy rain.

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	Approximate Period.	Explanation.
10. Dawanrega	September—late September, early October.	Da—market. After the harvesting of the dark red or early guinea-corn, the Bari people of the Talansi tribe hold a great festival, during which they sacrifice to the spirit of their market-place. Bari is the largest market in their country. At this time, too, it is usual everywhere to sacrifice to the earth gods and departed ancestors.
11. Tenlebgre	Mid October	Beginning of the dry season. Ten',-tenga—earth. lebgre—has changed.
12. Chibunfu	November	Harvesting season. Chi—guinea corn. bunfu—knife with which the ears are cut off the standing stalks.

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104 The orthography is that of an educated native of these parts.

A. W. CARDINALL.

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